DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 218 029 RC 013 425

AUTHOR Danforth, Diana M.; Voth, Donald E.
TITLE Consequences of Migration into Arkansas for Population Change. Bulletin 855.
INSTITUTION Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, Fayetteville.
PUB DATE Jul 81
NOTE 34p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Change; Differences; Individual Characteristics; Land Use; Local Issues; *Migration Patterns; *Rural Population; Socioeconomic Status; State Surveys; *Urban to Rural Migration
IDENTIFIERS *Arkansas; *Impact; Impact Studies

ABSTRACT

A 1975 survey carried out to determine Arkansans' knowledge about and attitudes toward management of land resources (a random sample of approximately 100 respondents was surveyed in each of 16 carefully selected counties) provided residential histories and answers to varied attitudinal questions which were later used to highlight the consequences of migration into Arkansas. Arkansas natives were noted, and new migrants and returnees were identified and categorized by year of migration. Respondents were compared with respect to socio-economic and community involvement characteristics, origins and reasons for moving to Arkansas, and attitudes toward community and land use issues. These comparisons were made within the state as a whole, and within each of three destination areas in Arkansas. Taking all migrant categories together, migrants had more education and higher incomes than Arkansas natives, and they were more likely to be white. Generally, however, migrants were more similar to the native population than different, with larger differences tending to be based on time of arrival in Arkansas. The observed pattern of migration, while perhaps not actually reinforcing the characteristics of the receiving area, at least minimized the change these patterns might bring about. (BRR)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED2180029

CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION into ARKANSAS for POPULATION CHANGE

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
Division of Agriculture
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

July, 1981 Bulletin 855

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

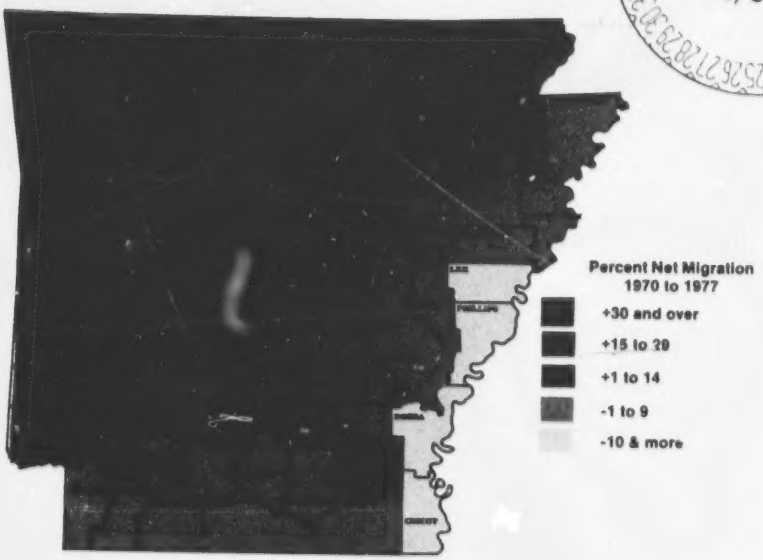
Donald E. Voth

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

RC 013425

Consequences of Migration into Arkansas for Population Change

JUL 1982
RECEIVED
ERIC/CRESS



RC 01 3425

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION

Division of Agriculture

University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

JULY, 1981 3 **BULLETIN 855**

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	3
Data Description	4
Characteristics of Migrants to Arkansas	8
Socio-Economic and Other Characteristics of the Residence Groups	8
Reasons for Moving to Arkansas and Origins of the Migrant Groups	9
Profile of Seventies In-migrants to Arkansas	13
Attitudes of Migrants to Arkansas	18
Attitudes of the Residence Groups Toward Community Issues	18
Attitudes of the Residence Groups Toward Land Use Issues	20
Examination of Whether Residence Category and Destination Area Effects on Attitudes Are Unique	21
Summary and Implications	25
References Cited	30
Appendix Tables	32

Agricultural Experiment Station, Division of Agriculture, Fayetteville. John W. Goodwin, vice president for agriculture; L. O. Warren, director. PS1.[:M681

The Station conducts its programs without discrimination as to race, creed, or sex.

Consequences of Migration into Arkansas for Population Change

By DIANA M. DANFORTH and DONALD E. VOTH
Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology

It is now well-known that sometime in the 1960's traditional patterns of net rural-to-urban migration in the United States began to reverse. The reversal occurred earlier in some areas than in others, but by 1974 nonmetropolitan areas in nearly all parts of the country were experiencing net gains due to migration, and those that were not were experiencing smaller net losses than in previous years. The Ozark-Ouachita Uplands, within which part of Arkansas is located, is one of the largest and most noticeable areas of revived nonmetropolitan growth.[1]

Arkansas shifted rather dramatically from large net losses due to migration during the 1950-1960 decade to small net losses during the 1960-1970 decade and to large net gains during the years of this decade for which data are available (4, 5, 8, 20). Although the changes are widespread throughout the state, the most dramatic gains have been in the northern and northwestern (Ozark) counties, some of which experienced more than 50 percent net in-migration from 1970 to 1976. Some counties in the eastern and southeastern (Delta) areas of Arkansas, on the other hand, still are experiencing net out-migration.

There is widespread interest in in-migration to Arkansas and its effects upon the state (15). An issue of interest is the effect this in-migration is having and will have on the population of the state. To what extent will it change the state's population, and what consequences will this have for communities, local governmental agencies, schools, etc.?

Enough research on urban-to-rural migration has been conducted to establish some generalizations about this phenomenon. Zuiches and Brown (23) examined nationwide data, and Ploch (18) and DeJong and Humphrey (9) examined data within individual states (Maine and Pennsylvania, respectively). Those moving from urban to rural areas generally have less education than those moving in the opposite direction, but more education than natives in the rural areas to which they are moving. The urban-to-rural migration involves nearly all age groups, with only those aged 20 to 24 under-represented. A large number of persons aged 35 to 44, and also of older persons, many of whom are retirees, are relocating to rural areas. Urban-to-rural migration is primarily a white phenomenon, with black migration still characterized as rural-to-urban, although that trend is not as dominant as in past years. The occupations of these rural in-migrants involve a predominance of

---

[1]Morrison and Wheeler (17), in an excellent overview of this revival of rural population growth, discuss not only the "turnaround" itself, but also the characteristics of urban-to-rural migrants, the reasons for migration, and some possible consequences. Other important references are Beale and Fuguitt (2), Fuguitt and Beale (10), Schwartzweller (19), Wardwell (21), and Zuiches and Brown (23).

intermediate-level occupational statuses, such as clerical occupations, craftsmen and operatives, service, and manual labor occupations. However, urban migrants to rural areas still tend to have higher status occupations than most natives of those areas.

Little research has been done to determine differences in community involvement, in preferences for services, or in attitudes toward public issues resulting from this reversal of migration. Ploch (18) and Hennigh (13), in studies of rural communities in Maine and Oregon, respectively, concluded that in-migrants were at least as active, if not more active, than natives in community decision-making. In fact, Hennigh's tenet is that the opportunity for greater community participation is one of the attractions for people moving from urban to rural areas. On the other hand, a study of the Ozarks found in-migrants to be less involved than natives in community leadership and decision-making roles, a finding that was attributed to the large proportion of retirees among the in-migrant population (6).

Studies that address perceptions of the adequacy of community services generally conclude that in-migrants expect more services of their communities than do natives. However, there are indications that in-migrants are less willing to increase the tax base in order to support these services, especially those moving from other nonmetropolitan areas (6, 7, 16).

Many in-migrants are said to be attracted by amenities in the rural areas; and areas rich in these amenities are some of the faster-growing rural areas (1, 22). Thus, the planning and management of land resources is likely to be an area of controversy in rural areas sustaining high growth rates. Research substantiates somewhat a general impression that long-time residents of these areas often will welcome the economic expansion in their communities and be unwilling to accept land use controls that might restrict development opportunities. In-migrants, however, may be quite willing to impose restrictions on land use in order to preserve the unique qualities of the area that attracted them (11, 12).

Arkansas natives were identified from 1975 survey data, and new migrants and returnees to Arkansas were identified and categorized by year of migration. Respondents in these categories then were compared with respect to socio-economic and community involvement characteristics, origins and reasons for moving to Arkansas, and attitudes toward community and land use issues. These comparisons were made within the state as a whole, and within each of three destination areas in Arkansas, to determine in some detail what effect a history of migration may be having on the population structure and the attitudes and preferences of the Arkansas population.

Data Description

The survey data used in this study allow a more detailed analysis of the characteristics of migrants than do the census data that are used typically. However, the survey data have some peculiarities that must be fully understood before they are used. We first identify the data source to be used, explain how migrants have been defined, and discuss some of the peculiar characteristics of the

data. Because of the evidence of different migration streams to different areas of the state, we also define three destination areas in Arkansas within which the characteristics of migrants are examined in detail.[2]

Source of Data

The data presented come from a 1975 survey carried out to determine Arkansans' knowledge about and attitudes toward the management of land resources (14). A random sample of approximately 100 respondents was surveyed in each of 16 carefully selected counties.[3] Although the survey was designed to analyze attitudes toward land use management, other varied attitudinal questions were asked and considerable detail was obtained on respondents' residential histories.

Definition of Residence Groups

Migration researchers gradually have developed a set of concepts to describe migration, based on the kinds of boundaries that are crossed and the permanency of the move. It has become conventional to define migration as the crossing of county lines. Thus, moves within a county are simply referred to as "local moves" (3, p. 756). This study deviates slightly in that migration is defined here as crossing state lines.

The definition of a migrant used in many studies follows the census definition, i.e., a migrant is one who lived elsewhere five years before the respective census year. This approach combines many actual migrants (those who had lived elsewhere other than five years previously) with non-migrants, and is therefore inappropriate for a detailed analysis of the characteristics of migrant groups. For the analyses in this report, a migrant is defined as a person who has ever lived outside of Arkansas. These migrants then were classified into In-migrants (those born outside of Arkansas) and Returnees (those born in Arkansas who lived outside the state and returned). Finally, both In-migrants and Returnees were classified by the year they last moved to Arkansas: 1) before 1960 (early migrants), 2) 1960 to 1969 (Sixties migrants), and 3) 1970 to 1975 (Seventies migrants). This, together with the remaining persons who were born in Arkansas and had never lived outside the state (Arkansas Natives), resulted in seven residence categories. (See Table 1 for a description of these categories and their distribution in the state.)

Definition of Destination Areas

Characteristics of the residence groups were examined for the state as a whole

---

[2]In analyses not reported here, 1960 and 1970 census data were used to identify migration streams that the different Arkansas SEAs share with other states. Different areas in Arkansas were found to share quite different streams with other regions and states of the U.S.

[3]The 16 counties were Benton, Carroll, Chicot, Cleburne, Conway, Crittenden, Franklin, Greene, Howard, Independence, Jefferson, Lafayette, Lee, Ouachita, Saline, and Yell. See Jackson et al. (14) for a complete description of sampling procedures and response rates.

Table 1. Distribution of Respondents by Residence Category

Residence category	Frequency	Percent	Description
Native Arkansans	760	49.1	Persons born in Arkansas who have never lived outside Arkansas
Early Returnees	192	12.4	Persons born in Arkansas who have lived elsewhere and returned before 1960
Early In-migrants	131	8.5	Persons born elsewhere who came to Arkansas before 1960
Sixties Returnees	140	9.0	Persons born in Arkansas who have lived elsewhere and returned 1960 to 1969
Sixties In-migrants	94	6.1	Persons born elsewhere who came to Arkansas 1960 to 1969
Seventies Returnees	98	6.3	Persons born in Arkansas who have lived elsewhere and returned 1970 to 1975
Seventies In-migrants	133	8.6	Persons born elsewhere who came to Arkansas 1970 to 1975
Total	1548	100.0	

and within three areas of the state—the Ozarks, Southwest/West Central Arkansas, and the Delta. Survey data were available from the following counties in these areas (see Figure 1):

Ozarks area—Benton, Carroll, Cleburne, and Independence counties.

Southwest/West Central area—Franklin, Yell, Conway, Saline, Howard, Ouachita, and Lafayette counties.

Delta area—Jefferson, Chicot, Lee, Crittenden, and Greene counties.

Unfortunately the 16 counties from which survey data were available do not allow using the State Economic Areas for which census data are available. However, census data as well as other research on regionalism in Arkansas suggest that the three areas identified may have substantially different types of migrants.

Nature of Migration Data

While these survey data allow detailed analysis of the characteristics of migrants, they have some disadvantages. First, they refer to the migration process only at destination—in Arkansas. In many respects it would be more informative

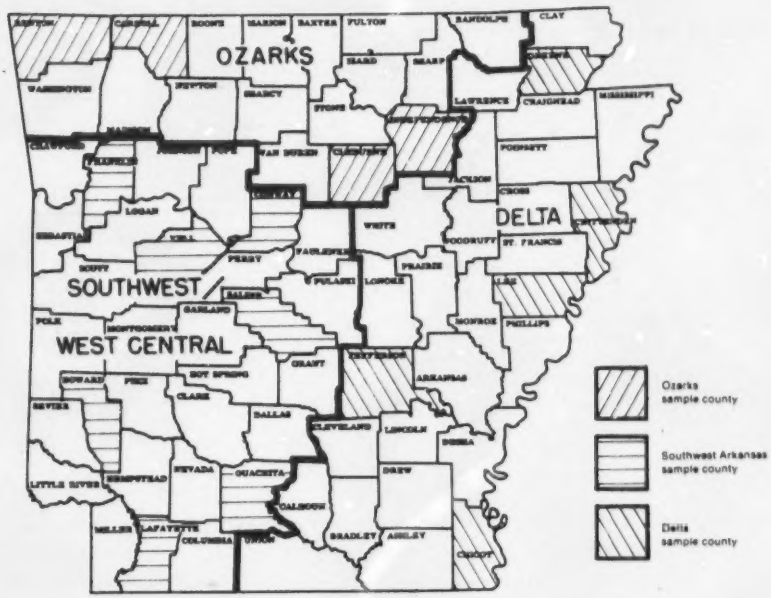


Figure 1. Sample Counties in Three Destination Areas of Arkansas

to compare migrants to Arkansas with others at the place of origin because of the opportunity to examine causes and determinants of the migration.

A second peculiarity of these data is that migrants have been somewhat arbitrarily subclassified as In-migrants or Returnees, based upon place of birth. This subclassification is based on "counter-stream" migration research that shows many people migrate to a new area and then later return to the place of origin for several reasons, including family ties, expanded job opportunities, retirement, etc. Certainly Returnees can be expected to be more familiar with their destination and to have different reasons for moving to Arkansas than In-migrants, and in some respects to be more similar to the native Arkansas population. This classification is somewhat misleading, however, since a person who was born outside Arkansas and moved to the state at an early age would likely be more similar to native Arkansans than a person born in Arkansas who had spent most of his or her life outside the state.

A third disadvantage in using these survey data is that it is not possible to make inferences about secular trends in migration. Since migrants were subclassified by the year of arrival in Arkansas, it is tempting to attribute differences between these groups to the time of migration. However, all respondents were surveyed in 1975, regardless of when they migrated. Thus, early migrants are defined by an event that took place at least 15 years before, and they can be expected to be older and

have a completely different set of experiences than people who migrated in the Seventies. Too, these migrants are representative only of those who chose to remain in Arkansas. What such data can show are the current consequences on Arkansas of a history of in-migration over a significant period of time.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS TO ARKANSAS

Socio-Economic and Other Characteristics of the Residence Groups

Migrants normally are younger, better educated, and in higher economic strata than non-migrants (3). In large part their influence on a receiving population can be understood by these differential socio-economic characteristics, without attributing special differences to migratory status *per se*.

Age, race, education, income, occupation, and land ownership were examined among the residence groups for the state of Arkansas as a whole, and separately for each of the three destination areas. In addition, community and political involvement measures were examined. These data are presented in Tables 2 and 3.

A history of migration into Arkansas appears to have influenced some of the basic demographic characteristics of the state's overall population. When comparing all migrants as a group to the native Arkansans, we found that migrants had higher income and educational levels. In addition, a much smaller percentage of migrants was non-white. There were little or no differences, however, in age, ownership of land, or occupational distribution, nor were there differences in community and political involvement.

Essentially the same differences were found between migrants and natives in each of the destination areas, i.e., migrants in each area had higher income and educational levels and fewer were nonwhite than natives of the area. However, respondent characteristics differed substantially between the areas themselves, in particular between the Delta and Ozarks areas. Sixty-one percent of the survey respondents in the Ozarks were classified as migrants compared with 43 percent in the Delta, proportions that are consistent with census data that show more migrants to Northwest Arkansas and fewer to the Delta. Forty-nine percent of those in the Southwest/West Central area were classified as migrants and their characteristics generally were distributed intermediately to those in the Ozarks and the Delta.

The Ozarks had the oldest population of the three areas with an overall median age of 55 years and with 45 percent of the respondents aged 60 and older, while median age in the Delta was 45 years and only 28 percent were 60 years and older. The Ozarks had the lowest median income, but income appeared to be fairly equally distributed among the residents—only 29 percent were at the exremes of the income distribution (less than $3,000 or $15,000 and over). The Delta had a higher median income, but that income appeared to be quite unequally distributed with 46 percent at the extremes. Almost all of the Ozarks respondents were white, while over a third in the Delta were nonwhite. Also, more of those in the Ozarks

reported owning land.

On most of the characteristics just discussed there was significant variation among the seven residence groups in the state as a whole, even though migrants overall were not different from natives. Early migrants, in particular, were different from migrants in the Sixties and Seventies. As expected, the early migrants were older. With this age difference and their longer length of residence in Arkansas it is not surprising that these early migrants also had lower income and educational levels; a higher proportion of them owned land, and there was somewhat greater political involvement. Also, a higher percentage were in farming occupations and lower percentages were employed in white-collar occupations or unemployed, differences that are consistent with the differences in age, land ownership, and educational levels.

Essentially the same pattern of differences was noted between early and later migrants within each of the destination areas. However, there were some deviations from that pattern. While early migrants to the Ozarks had the oldest median age of all Ozark migrant groups, in all but one of the later migrant groups a third or more were 60 years and older. In both the Delta and the Ozarks, Sixties migrants were as likely to own land as the earlier migrants to the area; and 71 percent of Seventies In-migrants to the Ozarks reported owning land, a proportion almost as high as among natives.

There were also some fairly consistent differences between In-migrants and Returnees in each time period, especially in the Sixties and Seventies. These more recent In-migrants were more likely than the corresponding Returnees to have completed more than 12 years education, to fall into the higher income brackets, and to be employed in white-collar occupations. These income and occupational differences were especially pronounced in the Delta. In-migrants also tended to be older than the corresponding Returnees, although these differences were not consistent between destination areas in all time periods. The pattern of racial distribution between corresponding In-migrants and Returnees differed for the time periods, with a higher proportion of nonwhites among In-migrants in the early period shifting to decidedly higher proportion of nonwhites among Returnees in the Seventies. In the state as a whole political involvement was somewhat higher among Returnees than among the corresponding In-migrants, a difference repeated in the Ozarks and the Southwest/West Central areas. In the Delta, however, In-migrants tended to be more politically active than Returnees.

Reasons for Moving to Arkansas and Origins of the Migrant Groups

Migrants to Arkansas were asked in what state outside of Arkansas they had lived the longest, and why they had moved to Arkansas. Reasons for moving to Arkansas were summarized into six categories, and percentage distributions for the migrant groups in the state as a whole and in each of the destination areas are presented in Table 4. Table 5 presents the distribution of migrant groups in the state as a whole for six regions of origin and for 11 individual states of origin that

Table 2. Selected Socio-Economic and Other Characteristics of the Residence Groups for the State and for Three Destination Areas

Characteristic and area	Residence category								
	Arkansas Natives	Early Returnees	Early In-migrants	Sixties Returnees	Sixties In-migrants	Seventies Returnees	Seventies In-migrants	Migrant sub-total	Total
Median age[1]									
All areas	50(758)[2]	58(192)	63(130)	41(140)	42(94)	35(98)	39(132)	49(786)	49(1544)
Ozarks	54(170)	64(61)	65(46)	49(35)	45(39)	37(32)	53(58)	56(271)	55(441)
SW/W Central	52(342)	58(94)	63(46)	42(70)	36(35)	34(44)	36(44)	48(333)	50(675)
Delta	45(246)	56(37)	64(38)	36(35)	48(20)	29(22)	30(30)	45(182)	45(428)
Percent 60 years of age and older									
All areas	36	47	64	23	24	16	26	35	36
Ozarks	44	59	67	43	33	22	43	47	45
SW/W Central	39	44	61	20	14	14	16	30	35
Delta	27	38	66	12	20	14	7	31	28
Median educational attainment (years)[3]									
All areas	10.3	10.0	9.2	11.8	12.1	11.7	12.1	11.6	11.3
Ozarks	10.1	9.6	10.0	11.6	11.9	11.6	12.1	11.6	11.3
SW/W Central	10.9	10.8	10.7	11.9	12.3	11.7	12.2	11.7	11.6
Delta	9.8	9.3	6.5	12.0	11.9	11.9	11.8	11.5	10.4
Percent with more than 12 years education									
All areas	14	14	17	27	36	21	35	24	19
Ozarks	14	10	17	26	31	16	37	22	19
SW/W Central	14	17	13	26	45	26	41	29	22
Delta	14	11	16	29	35	18	20	20	17
Median family income ($)[4]									
All areas	6500	6700	4200	9400	9000	7600	8600	7600	7100
Ozarks	6100	6200	5000	7100	8400	6900	7500	6700	6400
SW/W Central	6600	7600	4700	9500	8200	8000	9400	8100	7400
Delta	6600	6600	3200	11000	14500	10000	11200	8700	7400
Percent with family incomes below $3,000									
All areas	24	23	31	19	11	16	10	19	22
Ozark	19	28	21	29	8	7	6	17	18
SW/W Central	24	18	26	15	12	22	15	17	21
Delta	27	25	49	18	17	19	10	24	26

Percent with family incomes of $15,000 and over									
All areas	16	18	16	16	20	14	19	17	16
Ozarks	12	12	7	13	14	7	12	11	11
SW/W Central	14	21	19	15	12	20	18	18	16
Delta	17	22	22	21	44	14	33	25	20
Percent non-white									
All areas	24	11	19	9	7	15	7	11	17
Ozarks	2	2	0	3	3	0	0	1	1
SW/W Central	21	10	16	4	3	18	7	9	15
Delta	43	30	47	23	21	32	20	30	37
Percent who own land									
All areas	71	80	82	74	72	53	57	71	71
Ozarks	74	84	80	80	80	53	71	76	75
SW/W Central	78	83	87	76	59	60	52	72	75
Delta	59	65	79	63	80	41	37	62	60
Median organizations[5]									
All areas	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2
Ozarks	1.0	1.0	0.9	1.2	1.1	1.1	0.7	1.0	1.0
SW/W Central	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.2
Delta	1.3	1.0	1.4	1.2	2.3	0.9	1.5	1.3	1.3
Median political activities[6]									
All areas	1.8	2.0	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.3	0.8	1.8	1.8
Ozarks	1.8	1.9	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.6	0.3	1.6	1.7
SW/W Central	1.8	2.1	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.7	1.1	1.9	1.8
Delta	1.8	1.8	2.0	1.9	2.1	0.3	1.6	1.8	1.8
Percent voted last election									
All areas	68	80	69	72	67	49	42	65	66
Ozarks	65	73	56	67	54	53	33	56	59
SW/W Central	71	86	74	74	69	62	46	72	71
Delta	64	72	78	71	90	18	55	66	65

[1]Median age was computed from six categories. A two-way analysis of variance testing the effect of residence category and destination area on age was significant at $P < .001$ (see Appendix Table 1).

[2]The numbers in parentheses are the number of cases. Approximately the same numbers apply for all other corresponding frames of the table.

[3]A two-way analysis of variance testing effect of residence category and destination area on years of education was significant at $P < .001$ (Appendix Table 1).

[4]Median income was computed from nine categories. A two-way analysis of variance testing the effect of residence category and destination area on income was significant at $P < .001$ (see Appendix Table 1).

[5]This is the median number of 17 possible organizations of which a person is a member.

[6]This is the median number of 8 possible political activities in which a person participated.

Table 3. Occupational Distribution of the Residence Groups in the State and in Three Destination Areas

Occupation and area	Residence category								
	Arkansas Natives	Early Returnees	Early In-migrants	Sixties Returnees	Sixties In-migrants	Seventies Returnees	Seventies In-migrants	Migrant sub-total	Total
Percent in white-collar occupations[1]									
All areas	29(42)[2]	28(37)	31(42)	31(46)	36(50)	33(49)	36(54)	32(45)	30(43)
Ozarks	27(41)	29(35)	34(48)	26(35)	22(33)	35(52)	37(51)	31(43)	29(42)
SW/W Central	27(42)	26(37)	29(39)	33(46)	43(53)	29(48)	34(56)	31(45)	30(43)
Delta	31(42)	34(40)	25(40)	34(55)	48(69)	33(47)	39(61)	35(49)	32(45)
Percent in blue-collar occupations[3]									
All areas	22(32)	26(33)	27(38)	23(33)	20(28)	22(33)	18(27)	23(32)	23(32)
Ozarks	21(31)	16(19)	20(29)	24(35)	11(17)	16(24)	20(27)	18(25)	29(27)
SW/W Central	23(34)	29(41)	36(47)	25(34)	28(36)	23(37)	19(32)	27(38)	25(36)
Delta	22(31)	34(40)	26(36)	19(30)	21(31)	28(40)	14(22)	24(34)	23(32)
Percent in farming occupations[4]									
All areas	9(14)	17(22)	10(13)	6(9)	3(5)	4(6)	4(6)	8(12)	9(13)
Ozarks	10(16)	28(33)	9(13)	6(9)	8(12)	3(5)	7(10)	12(16)	11(16)
SW/W Central	8(13)	11(15)	9(12)	7(10)	0(0)	4(7)	2(4)	7(10)	8(11)
Delta	10(14)	14(17)	11(16)	3(5)	0(0)	5(7)	0(0)	6(9)	8(12)
Percent unemployed									
All areas	8(12)	6(8)	5(7)	9(13)	13(18)	7(11)	8(12)	8(11)	8(11)
Ozarks	7(11)	10(12)	7(10)	15(22)	25(38)	13(19)	9(12)	12(17)	10(15)
SW/W Central	8(11)	5(8)	2(3)	7(10)	8(11)	4(7)	5(8)	5(8)	6(10)
Delta	9(13)	3(3)	6(8)	6(10)	0(0)	5(7)	11(17)	5(7)	7(10)
Number of cases									
All areas	723	186	125	134	90	96	126	757	1480
Ozarks	164	58	45	33	36	31	56	259	423
SW/W Central	328	93	45	69	35	44	42	328	656
Delta	231	35	35	32	19	21	28	170	401

[1]Includes professional, managerial, sales, clerical, and service occupations.
[2]The numbers in parentheses are percentages that exclude housewives in the computation.
[3]Includes craftsmen, operatives, and labor occupations.
[4]Includes farm owners, managers, and farm labor occupations.

were identified as sharing important migration streams with Arkansas.[4] Table 6 presents distributions of migrant groups within each destination area for the six regions of origin, and Table 7 presents distributions of the migrant groups for the three states that sent the highest proportions of migrants to each destination area.

Not surprisingly, in the state as a whole almost half of all Returnee groups said they moved to Arkansas because of family ties, whereas In-migrants were more likely to move to Arkansas for jobs or because they were attracted to some other aspect of the area. There were also differences among destination areas in stated motivations for moving to Arkansas. Job opportunities were especially important for migrants to the Delta, a reason given by almost half of the Sixties and Seventies In-migrant groups. In the Ozarks general attraction to the area or retirement reasons were given by over 40 percent of Sixties migrant groups and by half or more of Seventies migrant groups, with jobs being relatively less important. Family ties was an especially important reason for moving to the Southwest/West Central Arkansas area.

Examining the state as a whole, it is evident that the origins of all Returnees are highly concentrated in a small number of states—California and the Arkansas border states of Texas and Missouri together sent almost half of all Returnee groups (Table 5). While the origins of Early In-migrants were heavily concentrated in four Arkansas border states, these states became much less important for later In-migrants. Origins of later In-migrants were highly dispersed, and they were more likely to come from the East and West North Central regions.

In examing the origins of migrants to each of the destination areas (Tables 6 and 7) we find that the Delta is far more dependent upon border states and regions than are the Ozarks and the Southwest/West Central areas. The Ozarks draws a substantial proportion of migrants from Texas, California, and from the South Central region, none of which border on the Ozarks. The Southwest/West Central area draws a substantial proportion from California and the Mountain and Pacific regions. Interestingly, the Delta's attraction of migrants from the South Central region, and specifically from the two important southern states of Mississippi and Tennessee, involves primarily In-migrants and very few Returnees. Missouri, the Mountain/Pacific regions, and the North Central regions, on the other hand, send primarily Returnees and few In-migrants to the Delta. Texas and California serve similarly with respect to the Southwest/West Central area: both sent primarily Returnees and relatively few In-migrants to this region.

Profile of Seventies In-migrants to Arkansas

The characteristics of the most recent migrants are of special interest since they give an indication of what types of people Arkansas is now attracting, and since recent migrants are the focus of most other studies of the impact of migration to an area.

---

[4]These 11 states were identified on the basis of 1960 and 1970 census data as accounting for the highest proportion of migrants into and out of Arkansas.

Table 4. Reasons for Moving to Arkansas by the Migrant Groups in the State and in Three Destination Areas

Reason and area	Early Returnees	Early In-migrants	Sixties Returnees	Sixties In-migrants	Seventies Returnees	Seventies In-Migrants	Total
				Percent			
Family ties							
All areas	58	22	46	29	46	18	38
Ozarks	57	26	44	18	25	12	31
SW/W Central	61	22	48	35	51	26	45
Delta	53	16	44	37	67	21	38
Retirement							
All areas	1	2	10	13	10	15	8
Ozarks	2	2	16	18	22	24	13
SW/W Central	1	2	6	12	5	9	5
Delta	0	0	12	5	5	7	4
Job opportunities							
All areas	18	32	16	25	18	28	22
Ozarks	17	26	12	24	12	19	19
SW/W Central	16	33	17	18	19	26	20
Delta	25	37	19	42	24	48	32
Liked the area							
All areas	11	15	13	20	15	25	16
Ozarks	18	17	25	29	28	34	25
SW/W Central	8	11	10	15	12	21	11
Delta	6	18	6	10	0	10	9
Health							
All areas	5	2	4	3	6	2	4
Ozarks	8	2	3	3	9	3	4
SW/W Central	8	2	4	6	7	0	5
Delta	3	0	3	0	0	3	2

Moved with family as a child							
All areas	3	25	7	9	1	3	8
Ozarks	0	24	0	8	0	0	6
SW/W Central	3	26	9	15	2	7	10
Delta	8	26	9	0	0	3	10
Other reasons							
All areas	4	3	4	1	4	8	4
Ozarks	3	2	0	0	3	7	3
SW/W Central	3	4	6	0	5	12	5
Delta	6	3	6	5	5	7	5
Number of cases							
All areas	189	130	133	91	96	130	769
Ozarks	60	46	32	38	32	58	266
SW/W Central	93	46	69	34	43	43	328
Delta	36	38	32	19	21	29	175

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of Origins of In-migrants and Returnees to Arkansas

Origin	Early		Sixties		Seventies		Total
	Return-ees	In-migrants	Return-ees	In-migrants	Return-ees	In-migrants	
Region							
New England/ Mid-Atlantic[1]	1	2	1	1	1	5	2
East North Central[2]	17	7	19	16	13	19	15
West North Central[3]	16	14	16	22	19	20	18
South Atlantic[4]	2	5	12	2	7	7	6
East and West South Central[5]	35	67	30	41	37	36	40
Mountain/Pacific[6]	30	6	22	18	22	14	20
State							
Texas	13	13	13	9	19	10	13
California	21	3	16	9	13	7	12
Missouri	13	11	14	10	13	9	12
Oklahoma	8	14	3	12	2	5	7
Louisiana	6	20	4	2	6	5	7
Illinois	5	4	10	6	5	10	7
Tennessee	3	9	6	9	5	7	6
Mississippi	3	8	4	4	3	6	5
Michigan	6	1	6	3	4	5	4
Kansas	3	2	3	4	5	6	4
Florida	0	1	3	0	3	2	1
Other states	20	15	20	32	20	28	22
Number of cases	191	131	139	93	98	131	783

[1]New England and Mid-Atlantic states include Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

[2]East North Central states include Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

[3]West North Central states include Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.

[4]South Atlantic states include Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

[5]East and West South Central states include Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

[6]Mountain and Pacific states include Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, and Hawaii.

The Ozarks and the Delta areas of Arkansas differ greatly in geography, land use, and racial distribution. In addition, distinct cultural and political differences have been noted between the two areas. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the two areas seem to attract quite different types of migrants, differences that are especially apparent among Seventies In-migrants to the areas.

Seventies In-migrants comprised 13 percent of all Ozarks area respondents. Almost half were 60 and older, reflected in the fact that a quarter gave retirement as a reason for moving to the area. A majority had moved to the Ozarks from the North Central regions of the U.S., and a third said general amenities had brought them to the area. All of this group were white. Over a third had completed some college, but incomes were relatively low with few at the extremes of the income

Table 6. Percentage of Respondents from Each Region of Origin by Destination in Arkansas and Migrant Residence Category

Origin[1]	Early		Sixties		Seventies		Total
	Return-ees	In-migrants	Return-ees	In-migrants	Return-ees	In-migrants	
New England and Mid-Atlantic							
Ozarks	2	2	3	3	0	2	2
SW/W Central	0	2	0	0	0	9	2
Delta	0	0	0	0	4	3	1
East North Central							
Ozarks	18	4	29	16	16	26	18
SW/W Central	16	6	7	11	9	16	12
Delta	16	10	31	25	18	10	18
West North Central							
Ozarks	21	33	26	24	19	32	26
SW/W Central	11	2	13	23	16	11	12
Delta	22	5	14	15	27	10	15
South Atlantic							
Ozarks	0	2	9	5	16	5	5
SW/W Central	2	6	14	0	2	9	6
Delta	3	5	9	0	4	7	5
East and West South Central							
Ozarks	21	48	17	37	34	23	29
SW/W Central	40	76	32	40	41	32	42
Delta	43	80	40	50	32	67	54
Mountain and Pacific							
Ozarks	38	1[illegible]	17	16	16	12	19
SW/W Central	31	6	33	26	32	23	27
Delta	16	0	6	10	14	3	8
Number of cases							
Ozarks	61	6	35	38	32	57	267
SW/W Central	93	46	69	35	44	44	331
Delta	37	39	35	20	22	30	183

[1]See Table 5 for list of states in each region.

distribution. Still, 71 percent owned land. Community and political involvement of this group was extremely low.

Seven percent of the respondents in the Delta were classified as Seventies In-migrants and a majority had moved there from the South Central regions of the U.S., particularly the bordering states of Mississippi and Tennessee. This group was very young, with a median age of 30 years. While educational levels were somewhat lower than for the corresponding group in the Ozarks, they had relatively high incomes, with a third earning $15,000 a year or more. This is consistent with the fact that almost half gave job opportunities as a reason for moving to the area. Only slightly over a third of this group reported owning land, no doubt partially due to the high cost and low availability of the Delta's prime

Table 7. Percentage of Respondents from Three Most Important States for Each Area in Arkansas, by Migrant Residence Category

Origin	Early		Sixties		Seventies		Total
	Return-ees	In-migrants	Return-ees	In-migrants	Return-ees	In-migrants	
Ozarks							
Missouri	16	24	20	8	16	16	17
Texas	8	24	9	13	16	9	13
California	25	6	11	8	6	7	12
Others	51	46	40	71	62	68	58
Total (no.)	100 (61)	100 (46)	100 (35)	100 (38)	100 (32)	100 (57)	100 (269)
Southwest/West Central							
Texas	17	11	19	9	27	16	17
California	22	2	23	11	20	11	17
Louisiana	10	35	6	6	4	4	11
Others	51	52	52	74	49	69	55
Total (no.)	100 (93)	100 (46)	100 (69)	100 (35)	100 (44)	100 (44)	100 (331)
Delta							
Mississippi	16	26	11	20	0	20	16
Tennessee	5	18	11	25	9	23	15
Missouri	19	5	14	10	18	10	13
Others	60	51	64	45	73	47	56
Total (no.)	100 (37)	100 (39)	100 (35)	100 (20)	100 (22)	100 (30)	100 (183)

agricultural land. This group's community and political involvement was somewhat higher than that of the corresponding Ozarks group.

ATTITUDES OF MIGRANTS TO ARKANSAS

One of the reasons for the present interest in migration to Arkansas arises from the belief that migrants bring with them different attitudes and preferences than those held by native Arkansans, and that these differences will have an important influence on the state. Although differences in attitudes are intrinsically interesting, some attitudes and preferences have a greater bearing on public issues than others. These are attitudes that relate to community, community problems, and community services; attitudes that relate to the disposition and use of basic resources such as land; and attitudes that relate to the appropriate role of government, particularly local levels of government. The survey asked questions about attitudes and preferences in all of these areas, allowing an empirical examination of the alleged differences resulting from migration.

Attitudes of the Residence Groups Toward Community Issues

A number of questions were asked about respondents' attitudes on community issues. They were asked to give a subjective rating of their well-being as "better off," "worse off," or "about the same" compared to five years ago. They were also asked simply what they thought of their community—whether it was very good,

Table 8. Composition of Community Problems Scores[1]

Problem area	Community problem
Health and welfare concerns	Health and medical care
	Job opportunities
	Poverty
	Housing
Environmental concerns	Loss of natural areas and forests
	Soil erosion
	Loss of farmland to city growth and highways
	Uncontrolled growth of subdivisions
	Loss of game and wildlife
	Clearcutting of timber
Service concerns	Sewage disposal
	Water supply
	Roads
	Garbage and trash

[1]Values of responses to each of the community problems are 0 = no problem, 1 = slight problem, 2 = serious problem. The scores for each area of concern were computed by adding a person's responses to each of the community problems included in the problem area; thus, the higher the value the greater the concern. The problems were grouped on the basis of factor analysis results. See Jackson et al. (14) for a discussion of the methodology.

good, average, etc.

Another question asked respondents to indicate, for a list of 23 potential problems, whether these were problems in their community. Then they were asked for which of these 23 problem areas they would favor spending more public money to solve that problem. Several scores were created from these questions. The first, Number of Problems, was the total number of the 23 problems that a respondent rated as either serious or very serious. The second, Support Spending, was the total number of the 23 problem areas for which a respondent was willing to spend additional public funds. A third, Percent Support Spending, was created by calculating, for each person, the percent of the problems that he or she identified for which he or she also expressed a desire to spend more public funds.[5] In addition, scores were computed to represent concern with subsets of problems that were of special interest in this report—community service problems, health and welfare problems, and environmental problems (see Table 8 for construction of the scores).

The effects of residence category and destination area on attitudes toward each of the community issues were analyzed using two-way analysis of variance. The effect of residence category was significant on all issues except respondents' opinion of the community and concern with environmental problems. For those attitudinal measures on which residence category had a significant effect, means

[5]For example, a person who identified eight problems and expressed a desire to spend more public funds on two problems would obtain a score of 25 percent.

are presented for the residence groups in the state as a whole and in each destination area (see Table 9). Analysis of variance results for those measures are presented in Appendix Table 2. It should be noted that destination area also had a significant effect on attitudes toward all of these community issues.[6]

In the state as a whole Native Arkansans were more likely to rate their well-being higher than the migrant groups combined. This difference was more pronounced in the Ozarks and Southwest/West Central areas. Ratings of well-being were higher in the Delta than in the other two destination areas; and the migrants to the Delta in the Sixties and Seventies seemed particularly happy about their situation. In each area of the state In-migrants in the later time periods tended to rate their well-being as better than did corresponding Returnees.

Although residence category had a significant effect on all the measures of concern with community problems that are listed in Table 9, the differences between the categories are fairly small. Later migrants tended to be somewhat more concerned than earlier migrants with all types of problems considered, and to be more supportive of spending public funds to solve those problems. While all migrant groups combined tended to be somewhat more concerned with problems than natives, they were no more likely to support public expenditures. Respondents in the Ozarks identified fewer problems than did those in the Delta, and they also were less likely to support spending to solve problems, in both absolute and relative terms.

Attitudes of the Residence Groups Toward Land Use Issues

Questions were asked in the survey about respondents' attitudes toward land use issues, land use planning, and the appropriate roles of different levels of government in managing land resources. Specifically, they were asked whether they had ever heard of land use planning, whether they favored land use planning, whether they favored laws to encourage land use planning, and what the effect of previous land use planning experience had been on their opinions about land use planning. They were also asked three questions about each of five government levels: federal, state, county, city, and none.[7] An additive scale was created from these three questions to represent the degree of support for each level of government.

A two-way analysis of variance was used to test the effects of residence category and destination area on attitudes toward each of the land use issues. Residence category had a significant effect only on the four attitudinal items listed in Table 10. The analysis of variance results for these variables are presented in

---

[6]Tests were also performed for interactions, but they were not significant for any of the attitudes toward community issues discussed in this section.

[7]The three questions were "What level(s) of government (a) should be responsible for deciding on controls or regulations for the use of land?, (b) should be responsible for enforcing controls on the use of land?, (c) do you think would most nearly support your opinion or interests about the control of land?

Appendix Table 3.[8]

Favorability among the residence groups toward land use planning and toward laws to encourage land use planning followed the same patterns. Early migrants in all areas were less likely to support these planning measures than were later migrants. In the state as a whole, all migrant groups combined showed somewhat greater support than did natives for both measures. Migrants were especially more favorable in the Ozarks, but in the Delta Natives were slightly more favorable than Migrants. The Ozarks respondents were more supportive of land use planning measures than those in the Southwest/West Central and Delta areas. In fact, 20 percent more of the Ozarks respondents supported each measure than did Delta respondents.

Respondents in the Ozarks were much more likely than those in other areas to have been favorably impressed with previous land use planning experiences. In addition, there was no migrant group in the Ozarks that had been less favorably impressed than Natives of the area. In-migrants showed a tendency to have been more favorably impressed than corresponding Returnees, and Sixties In-migrants to all areas were the most likely of any group to have a favorable opinion of land use planning as a result of their previous experience.

There was essentially no difference between Natives and all migrant groups combined in support for state government involvement in land use planning. However, support was somewhat higher in the Ozarks than in the other two areas.

Examination of Whether Residence Category and Destination Area Effects on Attitudes Are Unique

Earlier we found that residence categories differed on some basic socio-economic characteristics and that respondent characteristics in the three destination areas of Arkansas differed greatly. It was suggested that a large portion, or perhaps all, of the differences in attitudes observed thus far among residence categories and among areas in Arkansas may be due to differences in the respondent's age, race, educational level, and income level.

To test this suggestion these four socio-economic characteristics were entered as independent variables in a multiple regression model to predict each of the attitudinal variables listed in Tables 9 and 10. In each case the model F statistic was significant. The amount of variance explained in each of the attitudes by the socio-economic characteristics (R^2) is presented in column 1 of Table 11.

Next, for each attitude a multiple regression model was tested that used as independent variables the four socio-economic characteristics plus residence category and destination area. The R^2 for each of these "full" models is listed in column 2 of Table 11; and the amount of variance explained by residence category and

[8]Tests also were performed for interactions, but they were not significant for any of the attitudes toward land use issues discussed in this section.

Table 9. Attitudes Toward Community Issues of the Resident Groups in the State and in Three Destination Areas[1]

Attitude and area	Residence category								
	Arkansas Natives	Early Returnees	Early In-migrants	Sixties Returnees	Sixties In-migrants	Seventies Returnees	Seventies In-migrants	Migrant sub-total	Total
Subjective well-being[2]									
All areas	0.25(743)[3]	0.12(191)	0.06(129)	0.17(138)	0.31(94)	0.15(98)	0.42(130)	0.20(780)	0.22(1523)
Ozarks	0.29(168)	0.0 (61)	0.02(46)	0.06(33)	0.18(39)	0.09(32)	0.53(58)	0.16(269)	0.21(437)
SW/W Central	0.21(334)	0.20(93)	0.06(46)	0.11(70)	0.37(35)	0.04(44)	0.16(43)	0.15(331)	0.18(665)
Delta	0.30(241)	0.14(37)	0.11(37)	0.40(35)	0.45(20)	0.46(22)	0.59(29)	0.33(180)	0.31(421)
Health and welfare concerns[4]									
All areas	2.8	2.5	2.5	3.0	2.9	3.2	3.2	2.8	2.8
Ozarks	2.3	2.4	1.5	2.4	3.0	2.7	3.4	2.6	2.5
SW/W Central	2.9	2.5	2.7	3.2	2.7	3.7	3.4	3.0	2.9
Delta	2.9	2.8	2.7	3.3	2.8	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.9
Service concerns[4]									
All areas	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.9	2.2	1.8	2.0	2.2	1.9
Ozarks	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.5	2.2	1.8	2.0	1.7	1.6
SW/W Central	1.7	1.6	1.5	2.2	2.8	2.0	2.3	2.0	1.8
Delta	1.4	1.0	1.4	1.7	1.2	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.4
Number of problems[5]									
All areas	7.9	7.7	7.7	8.9	8.8	8.3	8.4	8.2	8.1
Ozarks	7.1	7.2	7.0	7.1	8.2	7.4	7.2	7.3	7.2
SW/W Central	7.5	7.4	7.2	8.8	8.6	8.5	8.9	8.2	7.8
Delta	8.2	7.7	8.4	9.1	8.3	8.0	8.7	8.4	8.3

Support spending[6]									
All areas	2.1	1.8	1.6	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.6	2.0	2.1
Ozarks	1.5	1.5	1.1	1.4	1.5	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.5
SW/W Central	2.1	1.9	1.7	2.1	2.3	2.4	4.0	2.3	2.2
Delta	2.5	2.2	2.0	2.1	2.7	3.1	3.0	2.4	2.5
Percent support spending[7]									
All areas	26	24	22	24	23	31	29	25	26
Ozarks	23	21	18	20	20	26	21	21	22
SW/W Central	26	26	23	26	24	32	42	28	27
Delta	31	28	29	30	33	41	34	32	32

[1]On all community issues listed in this table, both residence category and destination area in Arkansas showed significant effects when tested in a 2-way analysis of variance (see Appendix Table 2).

[2]Subjective well-being is how respondents rated their day-to-day living in 1975 as compared to five years ago. Mean ratings are reported, where 1 = "better off," 0 = "about the same," and -1 = "worse off."

[3]Numbers in parentheses are the number of cases. Approximately the same numbers apply to all other corresponding frames of the table, although they vary somewhat due to missing cases on the attitudinal items.

[4]See Table 8 for construction of these scores. Means are reported.

[5]This scale is the total number of problems from a list of 23 that the respondent rated as a slight or serious problem in his/her community. Means are reported.

[6]This scale is the total number of 23 community problems for which a respondent is willing to spend more public money. Means are reported.

[7]This is the percent of problems a respondent identified for which he/she also wanted to spend more public funds. Means are reported.

Table 10. Attitudes Toward Land Use Issues of the Residence Groups in the State and in Three Destination Areas[1]

Land use issue and area	Residence category								
	Arkansas Natives	Early Returnees	Early In-migrants	Sixties Returnees	Sixties In-migrants	Seventies Returnees	Seventies In-migrants	Migrant sub-total	Total
Favor land use planning (% yes)									
All areas	60(464)[2]	60(132)	53(86)	71(104)	78(74)	72(69)	76(100)	68(565)	65(1029)
Ozarks	66(108)	69(47)	73(36)	92(28)	91(32)	92(22)	88(48)	83(213)	77(321)
SW/W Central	55(212)	51(67)	42(28)	67(54)	80(29)	75(32)	76(33)	64(243)	60(455)
Delta	60(144)	55(18)	28(22)	74(22)	56(13)	40(15)	56(19)	53(109)	57(253)
Favor laws to encourage land use planning (% yes)									
All areas	56	49	59	58	77	65	74	63	60
Ozarks	61	66	69	86	91	86	81	78	73
SW/W Central	55	42	64	46	69	59	70	55	55
Delta	56	33	36	50	62	47	63	48	53
Effect of previous land use planning experience[3]									
All areas	0.04	0.08	0.01	0.06	0.44	0.26	0.32	0.16	0.10
Ozarks	0.18	0.22	0.28	0.27	0.53	0.53	0.41	0.35	0.29
SW/W Central	-0.03	0.03	-0.03	-0.09	0.24	0.14	0.05	0.02	-0.01
Delta	0.06	-0.04	-0.24	0.14	0.50	0.10	0.46	0.07	0.06
Favor state government[4]									
All areas	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.8	1.1	0.8	0.7
Ozarks	0.9	0.9	1.3	0.8	1.1	0.9	1.3	1.1	1.0
SW/W Central	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	1.0	0.9	0.6	0.6
Delta	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.9	0.3	0.4	0.8	0.6	0.6

[1]On all land use issues in this table, both residence category and destination area in Arkansas showed significant effects when tested in a 2-way analysis of variance (see Appendix Table 3).

[2]Numbers in parentheses are the approximate number of cases in each category. The numbers vary somewhat due to missing cases on the attitudinal items.

[3]This score represents answers to the question, "Has your experience with land use regulations made you more for, or against, land use regulations in general?" Means are reported, where 1 = "more for," 0 = "no effect," and 1 = "more against."

[4]This scale represents the number of times out of three questions that a person chose the state government level for responsibility in land use planning. The questions were: "What level(s) of government (1) should be responsible for deciding on controls or regulations for the use of land? (2) should be responsible for enforcing controls on the use of land?, and (3) do you think would most nearly support your opinion or interests about the control of land?" Means are reported.

destination area that was not explained by socio-economic characteristics (multiple partial correlation of destination area and residence category) is listed for each attitude in Column 3. On every attitude there was a significant amount of variance that was unique to a person's migratory status and the area of Arkansas in which he or she lived. However, when examining the variance explained by each independent variable in the model (partial correlations, Table 11, columns 4 to 9) we see that more of this unique variance is associated with destination area than with residence category. When controlling for other variables in the model, residence category has a significant effect on only three attitudes—a person's subjective well-being, concern with community services, and favorability toward state-level government involvement in planning and management of land resources. The effect of destination area, on the other hand, was significant on all but one of the attitudes.

Income accounted for the largest proportion of explained variance in ratings of well-being, with those in higher income brackets expressing more satisfaction with their situations. Age and race of the respondents were associated with much of the unique explained variance in concern with community problems and in support for spending public funds to solve those problems. Older people and whites were less likely to be concerned with problems or to be supportive of increased public spending. Educational level had a significant effect on most attitudes toward land use issues. The more highly educated were more supportive of land use planning and of laws to encourage planning, and they had been more favorably impressed with their previous planning experiences.

The virtual elimination of residence category differences in controlling for socio-economic characteristics of the individuals should not be interpreted to mean that migration does not influence attitudes in the state toward community and land use issues. The fact is that migration does in general bring in younger people, more highly educated individuals, more high income families, and fewer black people, who, as we have shown, tend to differ in attitudes. The point is that within the same levels of education, income, age, etc., migrants do not differ substantially in attitudes from the natives.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Some areas in Arkansas have experienced high rates of growth due to in-migration, and interest has been generated in the effects this growth may have on the state's population. "Returnees" and new "In-migrants" to Arkansas were identified from 1975 survey data and categorized by the year they moved to Arkansas—before 1960, in the Sixties, or in the Seventies. These categories then were compared with each other and with "Native Arkansans" to determine the consequences of a history of migration into Arkansas for population structure, and for attitudes toward community and land use issues. The categories also were compared within each of three areas in Arkansas that were known to demonstrate

Table 11. Amount of Variance Explained in Attitudes Toward Community and Land Use Issues Socio-Economic Characteristics, Destination Area, and Residence Category

Dependent variable[1]	Model r^2			Partial correlations (r^2) of socio-economic, destination area, and residence category variables included in full model[5]						
	Column 1[2] Restricted model (socio-economic characteristics only)	Column 2[3] Full model (socio-economic, destination area & residence category)	Column 3[4] Multiple partial correlation of destination area & residence category (r^2)	Col. 4 Residence Category	Col. 5 Destination area	Col. 6 Age	Col. 7 Education	Col. 8 Race (non-white)	Col. 9 Income	Col. 10 Number of cases
Subjective well-being	0.062***	0.074***	0.013***	0.011*	0.002	(-)0.002	0.000	0.001	0.036***	1386
Health and welfare concerns	0.075***	0.087***	0.013***	0.005	0.006*	(-)0.020***	0.002	0.024***	(-)0.010**	1090
Service concerns	0.031***	0.066***	0.036***	0.015**	0.023***	(-)0.011***	0.000	0.005**	0.001	1308
Number of problems	0.087***	0.099***	0.013***	0.004	0.009**	(-)0.023***	0.016***	0.002	0.001	1399
Support spending	0.080***	0.100***	0.022***	0.006	0.018***	(-)0.025***	0.004*	0.011***	0.000	1361
Percent support spending	0.049***	0.062***	0.014***	0.005	0.008**	(-)0.018***	0.001	0.008***	0.000	1361

Favor land use planning	0.091***	0.131***	0.044***	0.014	0.031***	(-)0.006**	0.017***	(-)0.003	0.000	875
Favor land use laws	0.067***	0.017***	0.043***	0.012	0.028***	(-)0.003	0.013***	0.000	0.005*	930
Effect of planning experience	0.055***	0.110***	0.058***	0.013	0.038***	0.000	0.023***	0.000	0.003	897
Favor state government	0.017***	0.054***	0.038***	0.010*	0.027***	(-)0.004*	0.004	0.000	(-)0.001	1257

[1]Described in footnotes to Tables 9 and 10.

[2]Each entry in column 1 is the amount of variance in the dependent variable explained by age, education, race, and income. Probabilities are based on the multiple regression model F statistic.

[3]Each entry in column 2 is the amount of variance in the dependent variable explained by age, education, race, income, the 7 residence categories, and the 3 destination areas of Arkansas. Probabilities are based on the multiple regression model F statistic.

[4]Each entry in column 3 is the multiple partial correlation with the dependent variable of the residence categories and destination areas of Arkansas (the amount of variance explained in the dependent variable that was not explained by the socio-economic characteristics). Probabilities are based on an F statistic.

[5]Each entry in columns 4 through 9 is the partial correlation of each independent variable listed with the dependent variable. Probabilities are based on an F statistic. Socio-economic characteristics that had a negative relationship with the dependent variable are indicated by (-).

* $P < .05$
** $P < .01$
*** $P < .001$

different migration patterns—the Ozarks, the Delta, and the Southwest/West Central areas.

A history of migration appears to have consequences for population structure. Taking all migrant categories together, migrants had more education and higher incomes than Arkansas Natives, and they were more likely to be white. This conforms to patterns observed nation-wide in analysis of the characteristics of urban-to-rural migrants (23).

Although there were differences between In-migrants and Returnees, larger differences tended to be based on the time of arrival in Arkansas. Those who arrived early are frequently at one extreme and those who arrived recently at the other, with Natives and arrivals during the intermediate period ranging somewhere between these two. In large part these differences are due to age differences; those arriving early are necessarily older, since migration tends to occur to young adults. It is those arriving recently about whom the most interest is generated and, in the sense that they are different from both Natives and earlier arrivers, these differences have importance for the state.

For example, In-migrants in the Seventies tended to be more positive about their life situations, to be more concerned about health and welfare issues, to be more concerned about services, and to be more in favor of spending public funds. Both the Sixties and Seventies migrants were more favorable toward land use controls than the remainder of the population. On the other hand, their political involvement was lower. Higher concern with community and land use issues among newly arrived migrants substantiates results found in other research. Lower political involvement, however, is contrary to results obtained in some studies (13, 18).

There were large differences among the areas of Arkansas in characteristics of both migrants and natives. Migrants to the Ozarks area had the oldest median age, and almost all were white. They displayed a very narrow range of income levels—all relatively low. On the other hand, almost a third of Delta migrants were nonwhite, and they had the youngest median age. Delta migrants displayed extreme income inequality, with large percentages having either low or high incomes; the median was high.

These and other characteristics were shown to be similar to the characteristics of area Natives. Thus, the observed pattern of migration, while perhaps not actually reinforcing the characteristics of the receiving area, at least minimizes the change these patterns might bring about. Persons with "Ozark characteristics" tend to move to the Ozarks, and persons with "Delta characteristics" tend to move to the Delta. While this is, no doubt, partly the result of traditional ties of kinship, friendship, and geographical proximity, it is partly the result of the incentives needed to attract migrants to each of the three areas.

The reasons given for migration to the different areas differed. Migrants to the Ozarks were more apt to identify retirement and simply "liking the area" as reasons for migration; migrants to the Southwest/West Central area identified "family ties" as reasons for migration; while migrants to the Delta were distin

guished by the frequency with which they identified "job opportunities." A review of income differences and differences in reasons for migrating suggests that the Delta pays a substantial premium in annual family incomes in order to attract migrants, whereas the Ozarks provides an income disincentive which is overcome by the scenic and cultural attractiveness of the region. This is consistent with the finding that favorability toward land use planning and management is greatest in the Ozarks.

Some differences were found among migrant categories on some key attitudinal questions, although most were not great. Only on questions about land use and land use planning were differences substantial. It is also on these questions that the greatest differences exist among the three areas of the state. Differences among the residence groups in key attitudes are entirely eliminated or greatly reduced when the demographic characteristics of migrants are controlled.

The general thrust of these data, then, is to emphasize the similarity of migrants to the native population rather than their differences, although other research (18) has emphasized the differences. In large part this results from the methodology employed. Other researchers have been more concerned with recent migrants alone; indeed, migration has been defined so as to eliminate from the category persons who migrated some time ago. Our more comprehensive treatment of the migration phenomenon, while necessarily more complex and somewhat more ambiguous, is a more accurate portrayal of the effects of a history of migration. Recent migrants are necessarily different from the native population, if for no other reason than that migration tends to occur at specific ages, hence recent migrants will fall into specific age categories. Recent migrants will change, their attitudes may soon become similar to those of the natives, and some of them will become disenchanted and move on, or return to the place of origin. After a number of years those who remain will no doubt resemble the native population much more than they do now.

The contrasting interpretations of recent migration phenomena raise two important issues in migration research. One is that, to make an accurate assessment of the effects of migration upon an area, it is necessary to compare the in-coming stream with the out-going stream, as Zuiches and Brown (23) attempted to do for metropolitan to nonmetropolitan migration patterns for the entire United States. For example, is Arkansas also losing to other states a small group of persons very similar to the Seventies in-migrants? If that is true, even though the Seventies in-migrants are quite different from Natives and previous in-migrants on a number of variables, nothing is really changing. We cannot tell about this from these data, nor from most other data on the local effects of migration, simply because surveys are taken at destination, or origin, but rarely both.

The second point is that we need longitudinal studies in which persons are identified at a residence at one point in time and traced backward and forward in time to determine where they came from and where they went. Only in this way will we be able to separate secular trends from life cycle changes, to separate changes in the migrants from corresponding changes in the native populations, and to begin

to understand the manner in which in-migrants become integrated (or do not become integrated) into the society of destination.

REFERENCES CITED

1. Beale, C.L. "The revival of population growth in nonmetropolitan America." USDA Econ. Research Serv. ERS 605, 1975.
2. Beale, C.L., and G.V. Fuguitt. "The new pattern of nonmetropolitan population change." Univ. of Wisconsin, Center for Demography and Ecology, CDE Working Paper 75-22, 1975.
3. Bogue, D.J. Principles of Demography. John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1969.
4. Bowles, G.K., C.L. Beale, and E.S. Lee. Net Migration of the Population 1960-1970 by Age, Sex, and Color. Univ. of Georgia, Athens, GA, 6 volumes, 1975.
5. Bowles, G.K., and J.D. Tarver. Net Migration of the Population 1950-1960 by Age, Sex, and Color. U.S. Government Printing Office, 6 volumes, 1965.
6. Campbell, R.R., G.H. Dailey, and G.J. Stangler. "Nonmetropolitan migration in the Ozarks." Paper presented at the W-118 Meeting, Snowbird, Utah, 1978.
7. Clay, D.C., and M.L. Price. "Structural disturbances in rural communities: Some repercussions of the migration turnaround in Michigan." Paper presented at the An. Meeting, Rural Sociol. Soc. Burlington, Vt., August, 1979.
8. Dailey, G.H., T.E. Jokerst, R.L. McNamara, and R.R. Campbell. "Age-specific population and net migration estimates for the Ozarks Region, 1970-1975." Dept. of Rural Sociol. Univ. of Missouri, 1978.
9. De Jong, G.F., and C.R. Humphrey. "Selected characteristics of metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan area migrants: A study of population redistribution in Pennsylvania." Rural Sociology 41:526-38, 1978.
10. Fuguitt, G.V., and C.L. Beale. "Population change in nonmetropolitan cities and towns." USDA Econ. Research Service AER 323, 1976.
11. Garkovich, L. "Rapid population growth and rural community change: A focus on land use issues." Paper presented at the An. Meeting, Rural Sociol. Soc. Burlington, Vt., August, 1979.
12. Graber, E.E. "Newcomers and oldtimers: Growth and change in a mountain town." Rural Sociology 39:504-13, 1974.
13. Hennigh, L. "The good life and the taxpayer's revolt." Rural Sociology 43:178-90, 1978.
14. Jackson, V., D.M. Danforth, G.T. Hudson, and D.E. Voth. "Attitudes toward planning and management of land resources in Arkansas." Ark. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 838, 1979.
15. Jeffords, E. Proceedings of the Conference on Ozark In-Migration. Eureka Springs, Arkansas, Cultural Affairs Committee. (Conference sponsored jointly by the Eureka Springs Cultural Affairs Committee, the Arkansas Panel on Rural Development, and the Arkansas Humanities Program, May, 1976).
16. Marans, R.W., and J.D. Wellman. "The quality of nonmetropolitan living: Evaluations, behaviors, and expectations of Northern Michigan residents." Univ. of Michigan Survey Research Center, Institute of Social Research, 1978.
17. Morrison, P.A., and J.P. Wheeler. "Rural renaissance in America? The revival of population growth in remote areas." Population Bulletin 31 (3), 1976 (Population Reference Bureau, Inc., Washington, D.C.)
18. Ploch, L.A. "The reversal in migration patterns—Some rural development consequences." Rural Sociology 43:293-303, 1978.

19. Schwartzweller, H.K. "Migration and the changing rural scene." Rural Sociology 44:7-23, 1979.

20. U.S. Bureau of the Census. "Estimates of the population of Arkansas counties and metropolitan areas: July 1, 1975 (Revised) and 1976 (Provisional)." Federal-State Cooperative Program for Population Estimates, Series P-26, No. 76-4, August 1971.

21. Wardwell, J.M. "Equilibrium and change in nonmetropolitan growth." Rural Sociology 42:156-79, 1977.

22. Williams, J.D., and A.J. Sofranko. "Motivations for the in-migration component of population turnaround in nonmetropolitan areas." Demography 16:239-55, 1979.

23. Zuiches, J.J., and D.L. Brown. "The changing character of the nonmetropolitan population, 1950-1975," in Thomas R. Ford (ed.), Rural Society in the United States—Current Issues and Trends. Iowa State University Press, Ames, 1978.

Appendix Table 1. Two-Way Analysis of Variance of Residence Category and Destination Area on Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics

Socio-economic characteristic	Residence category F	Destination area F	Model F	Number of cases
Age	30.1***	16***	26.1***	1546
Education	19.8***	10***	18.0***	1526
Income	5.6***	0.8	4.29***	1432

*** $p < .001$.

Appendix Table 2. Two-Way Analysis of Variance of Residence Category and Destination Area on Attitudes Toward Community Issues

Community issue[1]	Residence category F	Destination area F	Model F	Number of cases
Subjective well-being	3.3**	3**	3.4***	1522
Health and welfare concerns	2.3*	6**	3.2**	1196
Service concerns	5.4***	13***	7.1***	1441
Number of problems	2.5**	10***	4.0***	1546
Support spending	3.8***	26***	8.9***	1500
Percent support spending	2.2*	16***	5.6***	1500

[1]See footnotes to Table 9 for a description of the measures of attitudes toward community issues.

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$.

Appendix Table 3. Two-Way Analysis of Variance of Residence Category and Destination Area on Attitudes Toward Land Use Issues

Land use issue[1]	Residence category F	Destination area F	Model F	Number of cases
Favor land use planning	5.1***	16***	5.6***	950
Favor land use laws	3.7***	14***	6.9***	1028
Effect of planning experience	4.4***	16***	8.7***	994
Favor state government	2.2*	17***	6.4***	1374

[1]See footnotes to Table 10 for a description of the measures of attitudes toward land use issues.

* $p < .05$
*** $p < .001$.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE